

when he asked about aid from the United States, I reminded him about the provisions of our law which require the Palestinian authorities to change the PLO charter before such aid will be granted. He brought me a document which simply said that all provisions of the charter inconsistent with the September 13, 1993, agreement were invalid, which hardly reaches the issue about the provisions of the PLO charter calling for the destruction of Israel. It was obviously insufficient.

Then there are the provisions of American law which call upon the Palestinian authorities to take strong steps against terrorism. I think they have not done that. The closing of the border is difficult with Romanians and others coming in to handle jobs in Israel. But when the open borders mean terrorism, and destruction of Israeli buses, it is not hard to understand why as a matter of security those borders are closed.

When I discussed with Chairman Arafat the issue of terrorism, he discussed Abu Nidal, somebody that he knows well—had known well—and Abu Abbas who was implicated in the *Achille Lauro* hijacking and is under a 30-year sentence in absentia from the Italian court. Chairman Arafat said that Abu Abbas raised his hand to change the PLO charter. Those are matters which require a lot of consideration as to just what may be expected of the Israeli Government in terms of trusting the PLO and trusting the Palestinian authorities.

Do the leopards change their spots? Here we have the Palestinian police firing on Israeli soldiers with guns and bullets provided by the Israelis.

So let us take a look at what we expect to be done. Certainly the matters ought to be subject to negotiation. But we really ought not to allow the Palestinian authority and Arafat to get what they want at the bargaining table by rioting and warfare.

(The remarks of Mr. SPECTER pertaining to the introduction of legislation are located in today's RECORD under "Statements on Introduced Bills and Joint Resolutions.")

Mr. SPECTER. I thank the Chair. I yield the floor.

Mr. INHOFE addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Oklahoma.

OMNIBUS CONSOLIDATED APPROPRIATIONS ACT, 1997

The Senate continued with the consideration of the bill.

Mr. INHOFE. Mr. President, it appears that this afternoon we are going to be asked to vote on something in the form of an omnibus consolidated appropriations bill which may be attached to the Defense appropriations bill.

This is it, Mr. President. This is the 2,000-plus pages that have been put together and assembled since last Friday. I would suggest there is not one Member of this body who has read this. But

we go through that quite often and quite often we vote on things that we have not read in their entirety. But the reason that we are going to do this is because we on the majority side are somewhat held hostage. At least in the minds of many Members we are. We are talking about \$6.5 billion more that we are going to agree to spend to respond to the President's request for programs that he was not able to get funded during the normal process—\$6.5 billion with a "b", Mr. President. So we are talking about a major, major amount of expenditures.

All of this goes back to this horrible fear that we seem to be laboring under that—if we do not do this and we pass our appropriations bills, as we would normally do through the deliberative process, and the President vetoes these and we come to an impasse—the Government will stop at the end of the fiscal year which is taking place at this historic time right now, and that the Republicans would be responsible for it.

Last night I was watching a debate that took place wherein the distinguished minority leader, Senator DASCHLE, was talking about what happened when the Republicans shut down the Government. And I was waiting for a response because the Republicans did not shut down the Government. The Republicans only did those things that were responsible in the normal process that we live under here.

I remember so well in the other Chamber when the President of the United States, Bill Clinton, gave his State of the Union Message. And in that he had a very dramatic time during that 1 hour and 6 minutes—whatever it was—when he said, "And don't you ever shut down Government again," looking at us as if we were the ones who shut it down.

Well, anyway, apparently the vast majority of the American people believed that.

So, in fear for that and in responding to that, we are agreeing to fund a lot of his programs to the extent of \$6.5 billion, programs such as the Goals 2000 Program.

You know, a few years ago I came home. And at that time my son was in the fourth or the fifth grade. I can't remember. And he was just beaming. I said, "Jimmy, something good must have happened today." He said, "Well, you know, dad. I am in the fourth grade." I said, "Yes. I know that." He said, "Dad, you know that in reading I am in the fifth grade." I said, "How does that work?" He said it was a brand new Federal program. "It is a pilot program we are trying. It is a system that is set up where if you accelerate in a certain area that you can then compete with those who are in perhaps a grade or two above you."

I remember it so well back many years ago. I was in grade school. I was in the first grade. It was a little country school named Hazel Dell. And there were eight grades in one room. There

were eight rows. Back in those days, every time you missed a spelling word, you would walk up to the front of the class and they would swat you with a paddle. So I was a good speller, and I was in the first row because I was in the first grade. My brother was in the second row because he was in the second grade. My sister was in the eighth row because she was in the eighth grade. But every time they got around to me they had me sit over in the third row because I was a good speller.

Here is a brand new, innovative program that Government came up with here centralized in Washington. I would suggest to you that the Goals 2000 Program is one that has as its goalposts to bring the curriculum as close to Washington because our wisdom is so much greater here than it is out in the local areas. I do not agree with that. And yet what we are doing today, if we do—and I think it is going to happen—is we will extend the funding of that by \$255 million.

I see here that another \$87 million is going to go to EPA. Now, I am on the Environment and Public Works Committee. I can tell you that our effort with the Republican majority has been to stop some of this foolishness that comes out of Washington and have, for instance, real Superfund reform, Superfund reform where we would repeal retroactive liability, repeal joint and several liability, bring the remedies from the Federal Government back to the State. The average Superfund cleanup that is supervised by the Federal Government is something like 8½ years, and yet we have some that are being done, or proposals being made that if we can do it under local jurisdiction with everyone involved such as in Bossier City, LA, where one of the oil companies had actually had a cleanup—they admitted they were the responsible party, so they made a proposal to the State of Louisiana, and it was agreed to by the State of Louisiana, by the city of Bossier City, by all of the local officials, by all the consumer groups, by everyone they could get together to clean it up in a year and a half, and yet the EPA in Washington said no. Now we have got it reversed. But at first they said no, and so it would take another 8 to 9 years to do.

And so with this thrust that we are trying to get to bring the remedies and bring as much back to the local area, we find we are increasing EPA by \$87 million, and that is in addition to the \$170 million that the Agency received above the fiscal year 1996 levels.

So, first of all, we have increased them by \$170 million. Now we are increasing that by \$87 million. So all these programs where the people are upset Government is coming, the EPA, and saying you are guilty of messing up the Superfund site when you sold used crankcase oil 10 years ago to a licensed contractor; therefore, we are going to fine you, this kind of abuse of the responsible and law-abiding taxpayers is going to continue.

The same is true with endangered species, wetlands. And I notice on this, if this is correct, that of the \$6.5 billion, about half of that is coming from the BIF-SAIF fund. And if you recall, Mr. President, this was an amount of money that was set up to take care of future needs, a reserve, if you will, so that we do not have to go back through the same thing we went through a couple of years ago when this so-called bailout came about. So that the S&L's will be required to put in approximately a one-time expenditure of \$3.1 billion. This will go into a fund so that in the event it is called upon the money will be there, and yet in fact through accounting they are going to be using this money for some other purposes, to fund these programs, the domestic programs the administration wants.

Now, if called upon, that money would still have to come from someplace, so what we are doing through accounting, smoke and mirrors, is just delaying this payment to buy something today.

And then I think the Chair would agree with me, the distinguished Senator from Arizona, who is occupying the chair at this time; he and I have stood on this floor and expressed our concern over what is happening to our defense budget many, many times in the last couple of years. We are in fact operating with a defense budget that is far below the minimum expectations of the American people. The vast majority of the American people when asked, should we be capable of defending the United States of America on two regional fronts, say yes.

And so we had the Bottom-Up Review under this administration. We came up with some figures as to what it would cost so we would be able to meet the minimum expectation of the people of America. And yet we are cutting more and more and more. In fact, it was not too long ago before the Senate Armed Services Committee that the Chiefs of the four services testified to this committee that we are \$20 billion short—that is B, billion dollars short—of meeting those minimum expectations in our procurement account.

So, in fact, Mr. President, we are not meeting those expectations. And yet we find out something between \$350 million and \$1 billion is going to come out of defense—more money coming out.

Right now we have been trying to revive or keep alive a National Missile Defense System. We know for a fact there are some 25 to 30 nations that are either working on a weapon of mass destruction or already have it. We know there are two missiles owned by two countries right now in existence that can reach the United States. We know there are mad people out there like Saddam Hussein who murders his own grandchildren who are working on technology, and perhaps, if they are able, buy the missile technology to deliver a weapon of mass destruction. I

understand that they have, at least we suspect they do have in their possession a biological weapon of mass destruction.

When we have a National Missile Defense System that is 90 percent paid for, all we have to do is kind of reach up into that high tier with maybe some of the 22 Aegis ships that we have and be able to knock down a missile coming at the United States while we have time to do it, instead of that they have cut funding for the National Missile Defense System to the point where it is now delayed. And each year that it is delayed is a year that a threat exists to the American people. And so it is a very serious thing, and we do not know for sure how much more money is coming out of defense. We do not know where it will come from. Is it going to come out of the National Missile Defense System? I hope not.

Is it coming out of the personnel account? Two-thirds of our defense budget is spent on people, and it would stand to reason some of it would have to come out of that. And yet we have soldiers serving right now who are actually on food stamps. So we cannot knock any more out of this account. In conventional warfare, we are now No. 8 or 9, depending on how you measure it, in ground forces. I think Pakistan has passed us up. In my opinion, that makes us No. 9. So we have a very serious problem in conventional forces and force strength, and we cannot afford any more cuts.

For that reason, Mr. President, I am going to listen attentively to the debate today to see if I missed something, but I am anticipating opposing it. I think I can justify it for no other reason than to say look at that, Mr. President. This is something that did not exist 5 days ago. There it is. That is what we will be voting on in order to keep Government from shutting down if the President should elect to shut down Government in the event that he were to veto our appropriation bill.

So I do not like what we are doing. I think we are caving into \$6.5 billion of the President's domestic programs that he has been promoting that this Congress, both Houses agree is money should not have to be spent. Sooner or later we are going to have to do something about all the funding we do around here, the smoke and mirrors. We have troops right now in Bosnia. We were promised by this administration that in December of this year those troops would be back, and if we did not believe it—I did not believe it, and yet when we had a motion, or a resolution of disapproval so that we could keep from sending our troops over to do humanitarian work in the country where we do not have any strategic interests facing our Nation's security and we send them on over anyway, we missed that by four votes. And I suggest, Mr. President, if we had been honest with the American people, if the President had been honest with the American people and admitted that we

were not going to have the troops back in 12 months, then there would be enough pressure on the people of this body, at least four of them to vote the other way and we would not have had to send troops over there. Now they said it is going to cost \$2 billion. Just last week Under Secretary of Defense John White admitted it will be closer to \$3.5 and probably be double that figure. So there is another few billion dollars that are not there, not accounted for.

So, Mr. President, I do not think that I could consciously, unless something happens today, unless I learn something that my studies have not found so far, vote to spend an additional \$6.5 billion on additional programs for the President.

I yield the floor.

Mr. President, I have a message from the leader if it is all right. On behalf of the leader, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate remain in status quo with respect to debate only on H.R. 4278 until 2:30 today.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection?

Mr. LEAHY. Mr. President, reserving the right to object, and I will not object, I ask that we modify that to give me, if nobody else is seeking recognition, 7 or 8 minutes to speak as though in morning business.

Mr. INHOFE. Yes. Let me modify that to say not to start until 10 minutes from now, and the Senate remain in status quo with respect to debate on H.R. 4278 until 2:30 today.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection? If not, it is so ordered.

The Senator from Vermont is recognized.

RETIRING SENATE COLLEAGUES

Mr. LEAHY. Mr. President, first, I thank my friend and colleague from Oklahoma for his usual courtesy.

Mr. President, I had spoken before about various Members of this body who are retiring. But last week, as I was sitting at my home in Vermont, looking back down through the list of those retiring Senators of both parties—many of whom, incidentally, visited Vermont at one time or another—I was struck by a common thread. Let me tell you, first, of the Senators who are retiring, and then I will speak of that thread.

Senator Mark HATFIELD of Oregon, the distinguished chairman of the Senate Appropriations Committee; Senator PELL of Rhode Island, the former chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee and one of the most senior Members of this body—in fact, I believe the most senior one retiring this year; Senator SAM NUNN, former chairman of the Armed Services Committee and Senator BENNETT JOHNSTON, former chairman of the Energy Committee, both of whom came here a couple of years ahead of me; Senators DAVID PRYOR of Arkansas and PAUL SIMON of Illinois, and ALAN SIMPSON of Wyoming; WILLIAM COHEN of Maine. Senators NANCY KASSEBAUM of Kansas,